1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4 •
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

GROUP: Whereas I have in the original survey, and elsewhere, used the term "group" as I now use the term "band," particularly when translating from the German (*Lokalgruppe*), I now use the term "band" as above, and use "group" only generally to distinguish, say, archers from net hunters, or Mbuti from villagers.

P 121 128 104 621

THE BANTU PREFIX: This has been dropped throughout whenever I refer to persons or objects. Thus we talk of the Bira, Ndaka, and Mbuti rather than the BaBira, BaNdaka, or BaMbuti. This change is in consonance with the current practice of the International African Institute. However, we retain the "Ki" prefix to indicate language—KiBira, KiNdaka, KiMbuti.

P 2 101 104 128 193 •

Indigenous terms, except for place, proper, or personal names, are italicized.

P 2 128

Illustrations have been added. These do not set out to represent the total material culture of the Mbuti, but were drawn from the collections of the American Museum by Mr. Nicholas Amorosi.

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2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

602 561 121 If we forget the usual genealogical associations of kinship and think in a strictly classificatory manner, we do have here an institutionalization of a kinship relationship and the beginnings of a kinship system, for we have already seen the vital importance of age in determining one's realm of activity and responsibility among the Mbuti, and how each of the four levels of *apua'i* act together in distinction from the other levels. But there seems little point in persisting any further with the term "kinship system" in this instance unless we define kinship so as to contradict its very fundamental significance in the more highly structured societies. With the Mbuti we are dealing with kith rather than kin, and the terminological division of the society into four age levels is best thought of as completely divorced from kinship except, and it is a vital exception, insofar as the nuclear family, and the ideal relations that should pertain among its members, are taken as the model relationships for the band. With this in mind, let us examine other relationships implicit in the terminology.

601 561 562 It is noticeable that the terminology distinguishes age levels, and only distinguishes between the sexes at the parental level (*ema* and *eba*). Children, siblings and grandparents (in their widest classificatory sense) are considered without emphasizing any male/female polarity. Sex differentiation can be made, and where necessary this is done, but only in the same rather roundabout way in which any genealogical connection can be traced. In order to differentiate an *apua'i* who is merely a friend from one who is a uterine brother, one has to add the expression "from one stomach" to designate the latter. Similarly, one can add the terms designating male or female to any term of address or reference except that of mother or father, where it is not needed.[2]

562 462 This avoidance of sex differentiation is consistent with the interdependence between the sexes that is so characteristic of Mbuti economic life, and with the egalitarianism that exists between them in the realm of government. A woman is in no way the social inferior of a man, and there is little absolute division of labor along sex lines. [224] [222] Among the net-hunters in particular, and among the archers during the *begbe* beat-hunt, cooperation between the sexes during the hunt

[193] [2] I have come across instances where a vowel or consonant change has been said to indicate the sex differential (as happens in some Sudanic Languages), such as *tata* and *taté* for male and female grandparent, *apua'i* and *amua'i* for male and female sibling, but there was no consistency in the practice. Wherever it was necessary to make the difference, there was need for stress, and this was in any case better achieved by the more dramatic addition of *moko* or *kali*. At the level where this most frequently is done, a male child would thus be distinguished from a female child: *miki a moko*, *miki a kali*.

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This is a glossary of terms used by Epulu Mbuti, as cited in the text. Owing to the frequency with which the Mbuti mingle words originating from different local languages, while most of the words given here are of Bira origin, some derive from KiNgwana. Further, owing to the Mbuti habit of dropping or adding vowels or consonants for the sake of euphony, and to their ambivalent attitude toward prefixes, I give the words as used in speech without attempting to reduce them to roots, except where there is no doubt. Thus "*bo'o*" in Mbuti usage I give as the KiBira original, "*bobo*"; where in doubt I suggest a possible derivation such as "*ekimi*" from "*kimia*" (KG). Wherever the derivation is apparently from KiNgwana, I insert (KG).

[193]

akami: noise (from *kami:* to cry?).
angbe: a tree and the wood from the tree, important for honey.
angbelu: medicine for honey season (from *lu-* to talk, call?).
anjo: hunting medicine.
anza: good.
apua'i: friend, sibling.
bamiki ba ndura: children of the forest.
batu ba ndura: people of the forest.
batu banji: people of the village.
bekbekbe'i: very (much).
bera'i: melody (solo).
bo: good.
bobo: empty.
boki: honey.
bokbu: all.
bonga: good (in a fuller sense than *bo*).
bongisa: to make good, to rejoice.
bopi: children's playground.
boru: the "house" (*endu*) of the soul; i.e., the body.
bulé: (KG) empty, worthless, troublesome.
chahwa: youth(s).
chanja: (KG) to make light incisions in the skin, for tattoo or for insertion of medicines.
chawi: (KG) witch.
che'i: fear.
eboko: banana.
ekimi: (ref. *kimia* [KG]) quiet.
ekokomea: erotic dance for *molimo* and for honey season.

224 have little game they will keep on until nearly dark.

There is a difference in value between net positions in a net hunt. The central position is best because it catches the most animals, and the flanks are the worst. The pygmies have a whole vocabulary to express the details of net hunting, including a whole group of verbs for net setting in various positions. There seems to be some rule about who sets his nets in which spot, but this has not been recorded.

[192] [193]

If a big animal, like a buffalo, comes toward the nets, the men will try to get them down and let him rush through, for they do not want to foul and tear the nets or to encounter the dangerous animal. If the large animal does strike the net, however, it may delay him long enough for the nearest man to rush up and spear him.

Most of the animals they catch are no larger than a dog or goat; for example, a kuchinda is about that size. The hunter cuts its throat and carries it around his neck, with hind and front legs on opposite sides. The average day's bag is about half of an animal of this size per man. If they have caught an okapi, however, the hunter cuts it up on the spot, and they cut small lianas to tie up the pieces with. The women also will carry some of it in their baskets. Almost always the meat goes directly to the camp after a hunt, where it is divided. Only after this will the share of the Negroes be carried to their village.

[481] **Bow and arrow hunting.**—In bow and arrow hunting, the pygmy relies not on his endurance but on his ability to move through the forest silently; that is his greatest skill and greatest asset. He can track an antelope to a thicket where it has lain down to sleep, and shoot it from five yards' distance before it wakes up. He shoots machine-gun style; he will pump five ar-

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